

## Message Text

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 001386 TOSEC 250167

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, IT

SUBJECT: ACTION MEMORANDUM: MEETING OF EUROPEAN  
SOCIALISTS IN DENMARK -- JANUARY 18-19, 1976 (S/S NO.7600056

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM HARTMAN

1. THE PROBLEM.

2. THE HEADS OF ALL NON-COMMUNIST EUROPEAN SOCIALIST  
PARTIES HAVE ACCEPTED AN INVITATION TO ATTEND A WEEKEND  
MEETING HOSTED BY THE DANISH SOCIAL DEMOCRATS AT HELSINGOR  
JANUARY 18-19, 1976. IT IS REPORTEDLY AN INITIATIVE OF  
BRANDT AND PALME AND TAKES THE PLACE OF THE CANCELLED  
MEETING OF THE SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL. A MAJOR AGENDA  
ITEM WILL BE ON WAYS TO STRENGTHEN THE DEMOCRATIC FORCES  
IN NON-COMMUNIST EUROPE AS A BARRIER TO COMMUNIST EXPANSION,  
AND WHETHER THIS IS BEST DONE THROUGH COOPERATION WITH THE  
LEFT OR RIGHT. THERE WILL BE A PARTICULAR FOCUS ON ITALY  
AND PERHAPS SOME ON SPAIN. PORTUGAL WILL UNDOUBTEDLY ALSO

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BE DISCUSSED.

3. I BELIEVE THAT WE SHOULD CONSULT PROMPTLY WITH  
SELECTED KEY EUROPEAN SOCIALIST LEADERS (SCHMIDT, WILSON  
AND CALLAGHAN, JORGENSEN, KREISKY, AND PERHAPS PALME AND

OTHERS) BEFORE THE MEETING ALONG THE FOLLOWING LINES:

-- ENCOURAGE OPPOSITION TO ANY PRO-UNION OF THE LEFT  
RESOLUTIONS.

-- URGE THEM TO CALL ON THE ITALIAN SOCIALISTS TO WORK  
WITH THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS.

-- COUNSEL PATIENCE WITH RESPECT TO THE SATISFACTORILY  
EVOLVING SITUATION IN SPAIN.

-- COMPARE NOTES ON PORTUGAL AND ENCOURAGE THE EUROPEANS  
TO BACK UP THE PORTUGUESE SOCIALISTS.

4. BACKGROUND/ANALYSIS

5. BEFORE SENDING SPECIALLY-TAILORED MESSAGES TO THE  
ABOVE, I BELIEVE THAT WE SHOULD SEND A GENERAL BACKGROUND  
MESSAGE TO AFFECTED POSTS, DRAWING ON YOUR PRESENTATION  
IN LONDON AND LAYING OUT OUR THINKING ON WESTERN EUROPEAN  
COMMUNISM AND WHAT WE WOULD LIKE TO SEE AS AN OUTCOME AT  
THE SOCIALIST MEETING. AFTER THIS, WE WILL DRAFT  
INDIVIDUAL PRESENTATIONS TO THE KEY SOCIALIST LEADERS  
ENCOURAGING THEM TO TAKE THE DESIRED POSITIONS AT THE  
SOCIALIST MEETING ON THOSE ISSUES OF GREATEST CONCERN TO  
US.

6. IN ADDITION, SHOULD YOUR TRIP TO MOSCOW PROCEED ON  
SCHEDULE, YOU MIGHT WISH TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THE  
R:FUELING STOP IN COPENHAGEN ON JANUARY 18, TO CONFER  
ON THESE MATTERS DIRECTLY WITH DANISH PRIME MINISTER  
JORGENSEN WHO WILL BE CHAIRING THE JANUARY 18-19 MEETING.

7. RECOMMENDATION:

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8. THAT YOU APPROVE THE FOLLOWING CABLE TO SELECTED POSTS  
LAYING OUT OUR THINKING ON THE OVERALL ISSUE OF WESTERN  
EUROPEAN COMMUNISM. IF YOU APPROVE THIS APPROACH, I SHALL  
SUBMIT THE PACKAGE OF INDIVIDUAL MESSAGES SHORTLY AFTER  
YOU RETURN.

9. SUGGESTED CABLE: IMMEDIATE: BONN, BRUSSELS,  
COPENHAGEN, LONDON, OSLO, PARIS, ROME, STOCKHOLM, THE

HAGUE, VIENNA

10. AT THE INVITATION OF THE DANISH SOCIAL DEMOCRATS, THE HEADS OF ALL NON-COMMUNIST EUROPEAN SOCIALIST PARTIES WILL MEET AT HELSINGOR JANUARY 18-19. IT IS REPORTEDLY AN INITIATIVE OF BRANDT AND PALME AND WILL REPLACE THE NOW-

CANCELLED MEETING OF THE SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL. PURPOSE OF THIS MESSAGE IS TO FLAG IMPORTANCE OF THIS MEETING FOR US FOREIGN POLICY OBJECTIVES IN WESTERN AND SOUTHERN EUROPE. IT IS FOR BACKGROUND USE ONLY.

11. WE HAVE BEEN TOLD THAT HELSINGOR DISCUSSIONS WILL INCLUDE WAYS TO STRENGTHEN DEMOCRATIC FORCES IN NON-COMMUNIST EUROPE THROUGH SOCIALIST COOPERATION WITH OTHER POLITICAL FORCES ON LEFT OR RIGHT. EITHER IN THIS BROAD CONTEXT OR SEPARATELY, ITALIAN, SPANISH AND PORTUGUESE INTERNAL SITUATIONS WILL BE EXAMINED.

12. MEETING TAKES PLACE AT A TIME WHEN COMMUNIST PARTIES OF WESTERN EUROPE, LED BY ITALY, ARE INCREASINGLY ADAPTING THEMSELVES TO THEIR ADVANCED, CAPITALISTIC SOCIETIES AND BECOMING PROPONENTS OF A MORE PROFITABLE DOCTRINE THAT CLAIMS TO ACCEPT PLURALISM, MIXED ECONOMIES, ETC. FROM THIS NEW IDEOLOGICAL PLATFORM, WESTERN COMMUNIST PARTIES, AGAIN LED BY PCI'S CALL FOR AN "HISTORIC COMPROMISE" BY THE ITALIAN CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS, HAVE ALSO BECOME ADVOCATES OF ALLIANCES WITH NON-COMMUNIST GROUPS AND PARTIES. THE IDEOLOGICAL BACKPEDDLING AND THE TACTICAL SHIFT BY THE COMMUNISTS TO "UNITY OF ALL DEMOCRATIC FORCES", ETC., ARE IMPLICIT ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS OF A WEAKNESS THEY INTEND TO BE BRIEF, BUT THE INTEREST THEY HAVE ELICITED AMONG SOME WESTERN EUROPEANS SHOWS AN  
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UNAWARENESS OF OR DISINTEREST IN THIS FACT. THE RESULT OF THE COMMUNIST CHANGES AND THE INTERESTED RESPONSE TO THEM BY SOME EUROPEANS IS AN IMPRESSION THAT WESTERN EUROPE HAS SPAWNED A NEW, SOFTER, BRAND OF COMMUNISM SCARCELY DISTINGUISHABLE IN ITS ADVERTISED FORM FROM CLASSIC SOCIAL DEMOCRACY. THUS, HELSINGOR DISCUSSION OF SOCIALIST ATTITUDES TOWARD COMMUNIST PARTIES WILL FIND SOME PARTICIPANTS, PROBABLY A MINORITY, ARGUING STRONGLY FOR COOPERATION WITH THEM.

13. IN ITALY, THE SOCIALISTS ARE PULLED TOWARD THE PCI BY AN IMPRESSION OF ITS STRENGTH, DYNAMISM AND POSSIBLE SUCCESS AND ARE PUSHED TOWARD IT BY CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC WEAKNESSES. IN SPAIN, THE PCE'S SOFT LINE CAUSES SPANISH (AND OTHER) SOCIALISTS TO ARGUE THAT DEMOCRACY CAN

ONLY BE SHOWN BY THE LEGALIZATION OF SPANISH COMMUNISTS. IN PORTUGAL, SOARES MAINTAINS AN INTELLECTUAL OPENNESS TO COOPERATION WITH A COMMUNIST PARTY WHOSE "LEFT UNITY" THEME TODAY RESULTS FROM ITS FAILURE TO INSTALL ITSELF BY FORCE IN NOVEMBER. IN GERMANY, BRANDT APPARENTLY S--KS VIA SOCIALIST CO-OPTION OF THE WESTERN EUROPEAN COMMUNISTS THE DEVELOPMENT OF A "THIRD FORCE" COMMUNISM THAT WOULD BE A BULWARK TO SOVIET EXPANSION.

14. NEITHER THE US NOR WESTERN EUROPE HAS ANYTHING TO GAIN BY SUCCUMBING TO THE ILLUSION THAT THE NEW FORM OF COMMUNISM DEVELOPING THERE IS EITHER INNOCENT OR ACCEPTABLE. PLURALISTIC PROTESTATIONS ASIDE, THERE IS FUNDAMENTAL DOUBT THAT A COMMUNIST PARTY PROFESSING ITSELF TO BE SUCH WOULD WILLINGLY RELINQUISH POWER ONCE ATTAINED. NOT ONE OF THE SOFT-LINE PARTIES HAS RENOUNCED THE PRINCIPLE OF DICTATORSHIP OF PROLETARIAT. THERE IS ALSO A QUESTION OF WHETHER MODERATE LEADERSHIP NECESSARILY MEANS MODERATE RANK AND FILE. EVEN IF POSITIVE ANSWERS WERE GIVEN TO THESE QUESTIONS, IT WOULD REMAIN THAT THE ACCESSION TO POWER BY WESTERN EUROPEAN COMMUNIST PARTIES WOULD ULTIMATELY AND INEVITABLY DESTROY THE RELATIONSHIP NOW EXISTING BETWEEN THE US AND WESTERN EUROPE. NATO, LOSING ITS SUPPORT OF AMERICAN OPINION AND SUFFERING DISTORTION FROM WITHIN, WOULD BE AN EARLY VICTIM TO THIS PROCESS; THE

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EUROPEAN COMMUNITY WOULD BE USED TO PROPAGATE AND INSTITUTIONALIZE THE POLICIES OF THE LEFT-WING GOVERNMENTS; AND THE FABRIC OF COMMON INTERESTS AND TRADITIONS WHICH TODAY RECONCILE COMMERCIAL, ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL DIFFERENCES WOULD BE DISSOLVED. IF A COMPETITIVE "THIRD FORCE" BRAND OF COMMUNISM FOR ADVANCED SOCIETIES WERE TO DEVELOP, THE TEMPTATION TO SOVIET MEDDLING IN WESTERN EUROPE, OR TO REPRESSION IN THE EAST, COULD HAVE UNPREDICTABLE RESULTS. AND, IN ANY CASE, EITHER FOR REASONS OF IDEOLOGICAL AFFINITY OR MILITARY INFERIORITY, WESTERN EUROPE WOULD BE VULNERABLE TO SOVIET PRESSURES. SOCIALIST PARTIES THEMSELVES WOULD SOON GO OUT OF EXISTENCE.

15. THESE ARE THE REASONS THE US OPPOSES THE POLITICAL LEGITIMIZATION OF WESTERN EUROPEAN COMMUNISM THROUGH ALLIANCES, FRONTS AND PRAGMATIC COOPERATION WITH SOCIALIST OR OTHER DEMOCRATIC PARTIES, ALL OF WHICH AMOUNT TO THE STRENGTH OF THE LATTER YIELDING TO THE WEAKNESS OF THE FORMER. WE BELIEVE THE MAJORITY OF THE HELSINGOR PARTICIPANTS WILL SHARE THESE VIEWS, BUT WE ANTICIPATE STRONG AND VOCAL MINORITY SUPPORT FOR THE IDEA OF EXPANDED

COOPERATION WITH THE COMMUNISTS.

16. OUR POLICY OBJECTIVE AT HELSINGOR IS THEREFORE A CLEAR LINE OF OPPOSITION TO SOCIALIST COOPERATION WITH WESTERN EUROPEAN COMMUNIST PARTIES, EITHER AS A GENERAL THESIS OR IN THE SPECIFIC CONTEXT OF ITALY, SPAIN OR PORTUGAL. AT THE VERY LEAST, WE WANT NO SANCTION BY THE MEETING OF SUCH COOPERATION. WITH REGARD TO THE SPECIFIC SITUATIONS, WE BELIEVE THE ITALIAN SOCIALISTS SHOULD RETURN TO A POLICY OF COOPERATION WITH THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS AND THAT THE

LATTER SHOULD GIVE THEM REASON TO DO SO; THAT SPAIN SHOULD BE PERMITTED TO EVOLVE ALONG ITS OWN DEMOCRATIC WAY WITHOUT EXTERNAL PRESSURES TOWARD EXCESSIVE SPEED OR AN ACCOMMODATION OF SPANISH COMMUNIST AMBITIONS; AND THAT THE FAVORABLE TREND IN PORTUGAL IS NO ARGUMENT FOR MAINTAINING A FAVORED POSITION IN THE GOVERNMENT OR IN THE SYSTEM FOR THAT PARTY MOST COMMITTED TO THE DESTRUCTION OF BOTH.

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17. POSTS SHOULD TAKE NO ACTION ON THE BASIS OF THIS TELEGRAM BUT MAY DRAW ON IT FOR GUIDANCE IF THE SUBJECT IS RAISED BY OTHERS. SPECIFIC INSTRUCTIONS AND ADDITIONAL BACKGROUND MATERIAL WILL BE SENT WHERE SPECIAL APPROACHES ARE DESIRED.

APPROVE-

APPROVED AS AMENDED-

OTHER

18. MEMO CLEARED BY C - MR. SHINN, S - MR. COVEY. INGERSOLL

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